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THE SITE
OF
LINCOLN'S INN.

BY
WILLIAM PALEY BAILDON, F.S.A.

REPRINTED FROM

The Black Books of Lincoln's Inn, Vol. iv.

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SCALE OF FEET.

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The Site of Lincoln's Inn.

By WILLIAM PALEY BAILDON, F.S.A.

THE early history of the site of Lincoln's Inn, that is, prior to its occupation by the Honourable Society, has always puzzled the writers on London topography. The difficulty arises in reconciling these facts:—1. That the Society in 1422 (the date of the commencement of the Black Books) paid rent to the Bishop of Chichester; 2. that the premises have, since that date been known as "Lincoln's Inn," while the Society has, for two centuries and a half at least, used the arms of the Lacys, Earls of Lincoln.*

Did then the Bishop's house, or the Earl's house, or both, constitute the premises known as Lincoln's Inn, and were there in fact two houses or only one? The writers on the subject have taken differing views, but the generally accepted theory now-a-days is that adopted by Mr. Foss,† namely, that the north part formed the site of the Earl's house, while the Bishop's house adjoined this on the south, and extended to what is now New Square. The older authorities are very obscure, perhaps designedly; the statements of the three earliest are here printed.

The first edition of Stow's *Survey*, 1598, has the following account:—

"Neare unto this Cursitors' office be divers faire houses and large gardens, builded and made in a ground sometime belonging to one great house on the other side the street, there made by Ralph Nevel, Bishop of Chichester.

* * * * *

"On the west side of Newstreete,‡ towards the north end thereof was (of old time) the church and house of the Preaching Friers; the which house I find that in the yeere of Christ 1221, the Fryers Preachers, 13 in number, came into England, and having to their Prior one named Gilbert de Fraxineto, in company of Peter de la Roch, Bishop of Winchester, came to Canterburie, where presenting themselves before the Archbishop Steven, hee commanded

* See Black Books, iii, p. 208.

† Judges, iv, 255.

‡ Now Chancery Lane.

the said Prior to preach, whose sermon he liked so well, that ever after hee loved that Order. These Fryers came to London, and had their first house without the Wall of the City by Oldboorne, neere unto the old Temple.

* * * * *

"In the yeere 1276, Gregory Rokesley, Maior, and the Barons of London, granted and gave to Robert Kilwerby, Archbishop of Canterburie, two lanes or waies next the street of Baynards Castell, and the Tower of Mountfitchet, to be destroyed. On the which place the said Robert builded the late new church, with the rest of the stones that were left of the said Tower. And thus the Black Fryers left their church and house by Oldboorne, and departed to their new. This old Frier-house (*juxta* Holboorn, saith the Patent), was by K. Ed. the I, in the 16 of his raign, given to Henry Lacy, Earle of Lincolne. Next to this house of Fryers, was one other great House, sometime belonging to the Bishop of Chichester, whereof Mathew Paris writeth thus :

"Raph de nova villa or Nevill, Bishop of Chichester, and Chancellor of England, sometime builded a noble house, even from the ground, not farre from the New Temple and house of Converts, in the which place he deceased, in the yeere 1244.'

"In this place after the decease of the said Bishop, and in place of the house of Blacke-Fryers before spoken of, Henry Lacy, Earle of Lincolne, Constable of Chester, and Custos of England, builded his Inne, and for the most part was lodged there : hee deceased in this house in the yeere 1310, and was buried in the new worke, (whereunto he had been a great benefactor) of Saint Paul's Church, betwixt our Lady Chappell and Saint Dunstane's Chappell. This Lincolne's Inne, sometime pertaining to the Bishops of Chichester, as part of the said great house, is now an Inne of Court, retaining the name of Lincolnes Inne, as afore, but now lately encreased with fayre buildings, and replenished with Gentlemen, studious in the Common Lawes," etc. etc.*

The next writer is Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, a careful antiquary, and a member of Lincoln's Inn†:—

"Lincoln's Inn, situated in New-street, now called Chancery Lane, corruptly for Chancellor's Lane, is composed of the ruins of the Black Friars house of Oldborn, and the house of Ralf Nevil, Bishop of Chichester and Chancellor of England to H. 3, in whose time he built that house. . . . Of this Bishop's house and of the Black Friars did Henry Lacy, the last Earl of Lincoln

* Stow's *Survey*, ed. 1598, pp. 362, 363.

† He was admitted June 23rd, 1561; died 1608.

of that name, . . . erect a stately house, which, according to the order of most of the other noblemen's houses, was after his title of honor called Lincoln's Inn, where he made his most abode, and died in the year 1310, about the 3 or 4 year of E. 2, the pre-eminence thereof still remaining in the Bishoprick of Chichester. This house not many years after was made an Inn of Court."*

This paper is not dated. The preceding article is dated Easter, 33 [Elizabeth, 1591], and the one following July 1, 1600; both these are on the same subject.

In 1614, a new edition of Stow's *Annales* was edited by Edmond Howes. To this was added an Appendix, containing an account of the Inns of Court and Chancery, written by Sir George Buck, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, and Master of his Majesty's Office of the Revels, 1615.

"The next Colledg or Inne of Court to these Temples is Lincolnes Inne, the auncient allye and friend of the Middle Temple. It is scituate in New-streete or Chancery Lane, and a part of it was of ould time the messuage or mansion house of a Gentleman called William de Haverhyll, Treasurer to King Henry the third, who was attaynted of Treason, and his house and landes confiscate to the King, who then gave this house to Raphe de Nova villa, Chauncellour of Englande, and Bishoppe of Chichester, and he built there a fayre house for him and his successoures, Bishoppes of Chichester, as Mathew Paris hath recorded. And it continued in the possession of the Bishoppes of Chichester untill the time of King Henry the Seaventh: when it was conveyed to Judge Suliard and to other Feoffees, and this Judge and his posteritie held the inheritance of it untill the raign of the late Queene Elizabeth of glorious memory, and then Sir Edward Suliard of Essex sould the estate of inheritance of this house, with the appurtenances, to the Gentlemenne, the Benchers of Lincolnes Inne, (as I am acertayned by that most worthy and learned Gentlemanne, Sir James Lea, Knight, late Lord Chief Justice of the Kinges Bench in Irelande, an auncient fellow of this honorable Colledge, and an excellent antiquarie). And notwithstanding that part of the inheritance of this house had first beene belonging to the sayde Haverhyll, and after to the Bishoppes of Chichester, yet the auncient Students and Professors in this house did not admitte the name of Haverhyll Inne, nor of Chichester Inne, nor of Suliards Inne, but of Lincolnes Inne, although never any Earle of Lincolne had any Estate of inheritance in this house, nor in the

* Hearne's *Curious Discourses*, 1771, i, 70.

one halfe as it is, but I deny not but that Sir Henry Lacy, Earle of Lincolne, enioyed that part of it which was made out of the oulde monastery of the Blacke Friers given to him by Ki. Edward the first, . . . And it is likely also that this Earle of Lincoln gotte some part of the Bishop of Chichester's ground or housing towards the enlarging of his new house of Lincolnes Inne, which hee prepared and built in the Raigne of Kinge Edward the first and therein hee dyed, An. Dom. 1310. And not only that house, but also Chichester Inne and Haverhall Inne, and divers other messuages purchased by the Benchers of this Colledge and Fellowshippe, and layed into it, go now and have long since gone by the name of Lincolnes Inne.

"And as it seemes and is most probable, the Benchers of this Colledge tooke an estate of long time by lease, soon after the death of the Earle of Lincolne, who died in the Raigne of Kinge Edward the second, by which estate they held this house, until their purchase from Sir Edward Suliard lastly mentioned." *

Bishop Montague, who claimed the Inn for the See of Chichester in 1635, was equally vague and uncertain; for, having first asserted that the Inn was the house built by Bishop Neville, he goes on to state that "the Frier Preachers had first a house in New Streete . . . , beinge that which the lawyers of Lincolne's Inne now hold." †

As the above extracts show, Stow and his successors, starting with the fact that the Earl of Lincoln did purchase and occupy the house of the Black Friars, go on to assume that Lincoln's Inn must be the site of this house. This assumption, though very natural, is, however, erroneous, for the Earl's house was not on the site of Lincoln's Inn, nor in Chancery Lane at all, but stood at the north-east corner of Shoe Lane.

In proving this statement it is necessary to go somewhat fully into the history of the Earl's house, in order to show that its site was not that of Lincoln's Inn.

The first document is the grant to Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, of the house of the Black Friars in Holborn, not by the King, as stated, but by the Friars themselves. The deed is dated March 3rd, 1286, and is embodied in the King's letters of *inspeximus*.

"Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Inspeximus cartam quam dilecti nobis in Christo Fratres Willelmus de Hothum, Prior

* Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1614, p. 973.

† Black Books, ii. pp. 334, 337.

Provincialis Fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum Anglie, et Nicholaus, Prior Fratrum ejusdem Ordinis London', et ejusdem loci Conventus, fecerunt dilecto et fideli nostro, Henrico de Lascy, Comiti Lincoln', in hec verba :—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod nos, Fratres Willelmus de Hothum, Prior Provincialis Fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum Anglie, et Nicholaus, Prior Fratrum ejusdem Ordinis in Civitate London' commorantium, et ejusdem loci Conventus, de communi assensu nostro, dimisimus et concessimus et hac presenti carta confirmavimus nobili viro domino, Henrico de Lascy, Comiti Lincoln', totum locum nostrum et omnes domos nostras et inhabitationem nostram juxta Holeburn, ubi prius habitare et morari consuevimus, cum omnibus placeis nostris ibidem adjacentibus et omnibus suis pertinenciis, Habendum et tenendum eidem domino Henrico et heredibus vel assignatis suis, libere, quiete et pacifice, imperpetuum : Faciendo inde servicia secularia dominis feodi debita et consueta que nos prius facere consuevimus pro eisdem. In cujus rei testimonium nos Priores, tam provinciales quam conventuales, et Conventus, prenotati, huic scripto sigilla nostra apposuimus. Hiis testibus, Dominis Roberto Dei gracia Bathoniense et Wellense Episcopo, tunc domini Regis Cancellario, Johanne de Kirkeby, tunc ejusdem domini Regis Thesaurario, Dominis Ricardo de Brus, Rogero de Trumpinton, Radulpho de Sandwyco, tunc Custode Civitatis London', Willelmo le Vavasur, militibus, Willelmo de Hamelton, Hugo de Kend',* Gregory de Rokesl',† Henrico le Waleys, Stephano de Cornhull, et aliis. Datum London', iij die Marcii, anno regni Regis Edwardi quarto decimo.

“ Nos autem dimissionem concessionem et confirmationem predictas, ratas habentes et gratas eis pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est, concedimus et confirmavimus sicut carta predicta rationabiliter testatur. In cujus rei, etc. Teste Rege apud Burdeg', ut supra.”‡

This is no doubt the place where, as Stow says, the Earl for the most part lodged, though there seems no reason to suppose that the house was in ruins.

There are preserved among the records of the Duchy of Lancaster several accounts relating to the Earl of Lincoln's London property, from which some very interesting details can be gathered.

* Probably Hugh de Kendale, the “ King's Clerk ” ; see Patent Rolls, 1281-1292, p. 150.

† Gregory de Rokesley, Keeper of the Exchange of London and Canterbury, Mayor of London, 1275 to 1281 and again in 1285.

‡ Charter Roll, 15 Edward I, m. 2, No. 81.

The first of these, dated in 1297, 25 Edward I,* shows that the hall had round windows, which were glazed in that year, and required 65 feet of glass.

The next account, in 1305, 33 Edward I,† is more full. Eight shops in Holborn and other tenements were let at yearly rents; an inclosure was made in the great chapel; a "pentice" was made at the head of the hall for putting dishes and hangings on [*pro pelvibus et tapetis imponendis*]; an inclosure was made for an almonry [*pro elemosinaria*]; a new larder was built; and so on. Vines are mentioned, and other fruit trees.‡

There is no trace of this property ever having been known as "Lincoln's Inn." Prior to the Earl's death, and for long afterwards, it was called the "Manor of Holborn." This name first appears in a conveyance of some adjoining property to the Earl in 1309.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Rogerus de Notyngham et Alda uxor mea dedimus concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus domino Henrico de Lacy, Comiti Lincoln', unum mesuagium cum omnibus edificiis super edificatis et cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, sine ullo retinemento, quod quidem mesuagium adjacet Manerio dicti Comitis apud Holebourne extra muros Civitatis London', Habendum et tenendum eidem Comiti et heredibus suis et suis assignatis seu cuicunque dictus Comes dictum mesuagium cum suis pertinenciis legare voluerit, de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita et consueta. Et nos Rogerus et Alda [warranty]. Pro hac autem donacione concessione et presentis carte confirmacione et warantia, dedit nobis predictus Comes viginti quatuor marcas sterlingorum die confeccionis presentis carte. In cujus rei testimonium presentem cartam sigillorum nostrorum munimine roboravimus. Hiis testibus, Nicholas de Farndon, tunc Maiore, etc.

"Et super hoc venit predicta Alda, et foris affidavit jus suum, etc. Datum London', xviii^o die Octobris, anno Regis Edwardi tercio [Edward II; the next deed has "anno R. R. E. filii R. E. tercio"].§

The Earl died on February 5th, 1310-1, and was buried in S. Paul's Cathedral. An engraving of his tomb, which was destroyed in the Great Fire, is given in Dugdale's *History of S. Paul's*.||

* Duchy of Lancaster, Minister's Accounts, †.

† *Ibid.*, ‡.

‡ Some notes on the garden will be found in a paper entitled *Observations on the state of Horticulture in England in early times*, by T. Hudson Turner, *Archæological Journal*, v. 295.

§ Hustings Roll 38, No. 35.

|| See also Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 365; Payne Fisher, *Tombes*, p. 121.

The Inquisition *post mortem* relating to his London property is, unfortunately, missing, but an extract from his will is enrolled on the Hustings Roll.

" Testamentum Domini Henrici de Lacy, Comitis Lincoln'.

" Dictis die et anno venerunt Magister Bonifacius de Salute, Archidiaconus de Bokyngham, Dominus Clemens, Dei Gracia Prior de Espaldyng,* Willelmus, Dei Gracia Prior de Sancto Oswaldo,† Dominus Johannes de Sandale, Dominus Willelmus de Bereford, Dominus Robertus de Schireland, Dominus Henricus Lescrop, Dominus Nicholaus de Redyng, et Robertus de Silkeston, executores testamenti Domini Henrici de Lascy, Comitis Lincoln', et probare fecerunt testamentum ejusdem Comitis per Petrum Rosekyn et Robertum de Anneby, testes, juratos, etc., In quo quidem testamento continetur subsequens clausula quoad laycum feodum in London'.—'Jeo voil ensement et devis qe tote ma place en Londr' qe feust as Freres Prechours, oue totes mes mesons enhabitez sur mesme la place, soient venduz par le ordeynement de mes executours, pur ayder a mon testament a complir.'"‡

As will be seen hereafter, this trust for sale was not carried out.

Lacy left an only daughter and heiress, Alesia or Alice, who was born about 1283. At the early age of eleven she married Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund Crouchback, and grandson of Henry III.

The Earl of Lancaster seems to have used the house in Holborn as his town residence, for in 1314, a deed was executed *a Holebourne, en l'osteal le Comte de Lancaster, en suburbe § de Londres.*||

Lancaster was beheaded at Pontefract on March 22nd, 1322, having been attainted for the insurrection generally known as "the Earl of Lancaster's Rebellion," which ended so disastrously at the Battle of Boroughbridge. All his honours and estates were declared forfeit.

After Lancaster's death, his widow Alesia released all her estates to Edward II, including all her right *in omnibus terris et tenementis in vico de Holburn in suburbio London'*, by a deed dated at York, June 7th, 1322.¶ She is described as late wife of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and daughter and heir of Henry de Lacy, late Earl of Lincoln. The reason for this release is not very

* Spalding.

† Nostell, near Pontefract.

‡ Hustings Roll 39, No. 106.

§ That is, outside the walls of the City, but within the Bars.

|| Close Roll, 8 Edward II, m. 32d. The deed itself relates to other matters.

¶ Close Roll, 16 Edward II, m. 33.

apparent, but the next two documents rather suggest that it was part of a scheme for enriching Hugh le Despenser, the royal favourite.

On February 5th, 1325, Hugh le Despenser obtained the King's pardon for having acquired without license 134 knight's fees in Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Devon, Hampshire and Oxfordshire, from Alesia, widow of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who held them in chief;* while on the following day a similar pardon was granted relating to various manors and other property in Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Wiltshire and Staffordshire.†

On the 10th of February, 1325, the King granted a license to Ebulo Lestraunge and Alesia his wife, "our dear cousin," to enfeof Hugh le Despenser and his heirs in various properties, including—*ac de omnibus terris et tenementis que Henricus de Lasey, pater predicte Alesie, habuit in vico de Holebourn in suburbio London'*. A further license enabled Despenser to re-grant the same to Ebulo and Alesia for the life of the latter.†

The date of Alesia's marriage to Ebulo or Ebulus‡ Lestrangle is not known, but the last quoted document shows that it was prior to February 10th, 1325§; he was a younger son of John, 1st Lord Strange of Knockyn.

In 1326 the two Despensers were executed, and their property forfeited. The manor of Holborn thus became Crown property, subject to the life estate of Alesia Lestrangle.

In 1331 Alesia and her husband obtained from Edward III a grant of the reversion of the Holborn property to the heirs of Ebulo.

The charter recites that it was made in consideration of his good service and also of the remise and quit-claim which he and Alesia his wife made for themselves and the heirs of Alesia to the King and his heirs of all their claim in the property which the King holds of Alesia's inheritance, and which she gave to Edward II and to Hugh le Despenser senior and junior, while she was sole, and which by the forfeiture of the Despensers came to the King's hands; and grants (*i.a.*) *Manerium de Holeburn in suburbio London' cum pertinenciis*, which they hold for the life of Alesia of the grant of Edward II, with remainder to the King and his heirs,—To hold to them and the heirs of Ebulo, as fully as Henry de Lacy, late Earl of Lincoln, held them. Feb. 16, 5 Edward III, 1331.||

* Patent Roll, 18 Edward II, part 2, m. 23.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Both forms of the nominative occur.

§ *The Complete Peerage* says "before 1326."

|| Charter Roll, 5 Edward III, No. 83. There is an inspeximus and confirmation of this grant five years later; Charter Roll, 10 Edward III, No. 40.

Ebulo died without issue on September 10th, 1335. The following passage is from the inquisition held after his death :—

“ Ebulus Lestraunge tenuit die quo obiit de domino Rege in capite in dominico suo ut de feodo unum mesuagium cum pertinenciis in Holebourn in suburbio London', quod quondam fuit Henrici de Laci quondam Comitis Lincoln' sine aliquo servicio inde faciendo annuatim ; Et dicunt quod dictum mesuagium valet per annum ultra reprisas sexaginta solidos per annum in omnibus exitibus. Dicunt eciam quod Rogerus Lestraunge, miles, est propinquior heres dicti Ebulonis, et est etatis quadraginta annorum. Dicunt eciam quod dominus Rex qui nunc est dedit predictum mesuagium predicto Ebuloni et Alesie uxori sue et heredibus de corporibus eorundum exeuntibus, et si obierint sine herede de corporibus eorum exeuntibus, dictum mesuagium remaneret rectis heredibus dicti Ebulonis inperpetuum.”

Dated the Wednesday before SS. Simon and Jude, [October 28th,] 9 Edward III, 1335.*

The Roger Lestrange here mentioned as Ebulo's heir was his nephew, son of his brother John, and afterwards 4th Baron. He died July 29th, 1349; the manor of Holborn is not mentioned in his inquisition.†

Alesia married for the third time, one Hugh de Frene, early in 1336. She herself died on October 2nd, 1348, without leaving issue by any of her three husbands. The inquisition taken after her death makes no mention of the manor of Holborn, as she had only a life interest in it. Roger Lestraunge of Knockyn is found to be then the next heir of Ebulo, and aged 30 years and more.‡

The Roger mentioned in Alesia's inquisition was the son of the former Roger, and consequently great-nephew to Ebulo ; he succeeded as 5th Baron Strange in 1349. He seems to have held the Holborn property until his death in 1382. The following extract is taken from his inquisition :—

“ Rogerus Lestraunge de Knokyn chivaler tenuit in dominico suo ut de feodo die quo obiit unum magnum tenementum, cum gardino et xvj shopas dicto tenemento annexis, cum suis pertinenciis, in parochia Sancti Andree in Holbourne in suburbio London', que ad vij *li.* iiij *s.* extenditur per annum ultra reprisas quando locatur ; Et unum aliud tenementum cum pertinenciis, in quo Johannes Ketslei (?) modo inhabitat in eadem parochia, quod ad vj *li.* v *s.* iiij *d.* extenditur per annum ultra reprisas quando locatur ; Et eciam unum aliud tenementum cum pertinenciis in quo Willelmo Reuit (?)

* Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 9 Edward III, No. 42.

† Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 23 Edward III, part 2, No. 40.

‡ Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 22 Edward III, No. 34.

modo inhabitat in eadem parochia, quod ad iiij li. vj s. viij d. extenditur per annum ultra reprisas quando locatur; Que quidem tenementa cum gardino et shopis et aliis pertinenciis suis tenentur de domino Rege in liberum burgagium, sicut et tota Civitas London'."

John Lestraunge was found to be son and heir, aged 30. Roger died 23rd August.*

On July 8th, 9 Richard II, 1385, John Lestrangle, 6th Baron Strange of Knockyn, granted *manerium meum de Holburne in suburbe Londonie* to Richard [Fitz Alan], Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Alina Lestrangle, and Ebulo Lestrangle, clerk (the mother and brother respectively of the grantor), for their lives, with remainder to the said Alina.†

The property was resettled on John and Maude his wife, and the heirs of their bodies, by a deed not upon record, but referred to in the inquisition taken after John's death on August 13th, 1397:—

John son of Roger Lestraunge of Knockyn was seised on the day that he died "de et in Manerio de Holbourne in suburbio Civitatis predicte [London] conjunctim cum Matilda uxore sua ex dono et feoffamento domini Ebulonis Lestraunge, persone ecclesie de Grefford, et Ricardo Edenenet persone ecclesie de Lannemenagh‡ videlicet ipsi Johanni et Matilde et heredibus de corporibus suis exeuntibus; Et dicunt quod predictum manerium valet quiete per annum ultra omnia onera et reprisas xx marcas, et tenetur de dicto domino Rege in liberum burgagium, sicut et tota Civitas predicta, et dicunt quod predictus Johannes filius Rogeri Lestraunge obiit die Sabbati proxima post festum Sancti Jacobi Apostoli ultimum preteritum . . . Et dicunt quod Ricardus filius predicti Johannis filii Rogeri est heres ejus propinquior, et est etatis xv annorum et amplius."§

Richard, 7th Lord Strange of Knockyn, died on August 9th, 1449. I have not found any record of his dealings with the Manor of Holborn, nor is it mentioned in his inquisition.|| He was succeeded by his son John.

Sometime in 1473 or 1474 the manor was seized by the Crown on the ground that the settlement on John, the 6th Baron, and Maude, his wife (see above), had been made without the royal license. According to the strict letter of the feudal law, no

* Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 6 Richard II, No. 64.

† London and Middlesex Arch. Soc., vol. i, p. 124. The original charter is at the British Museum, Harleian Charter 56, F, 21.

‡ Probably Llanymynech, near Oswestry.

§ Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 21 Richard II, No. 52.

|| Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 27 Henry VI, No. 29.

tenant could alienate his land without the permission of his lord. To what extent this rule was enforced by the mesne lords, it is impossible to say ;* but the tenants *in capite* certainly had to obey it, on pain of forfeiture. A considerable number of the pardons entered on the Pardon Rolls and Patent Rolls are for alienating without license. In this case an inquiry was held at the Guildhall, on April 3rd, 13 Edward IV, 1473. The finding of the Jury is as follows :—

“ De manerio de Holbourne cum pertinenciis in suburbio Civitatis predictæ, de quo Johannes nunc Dominus Straunge modo seisitus extitit, quidam Ebulo Straunge,† Rector Ecclesie de Grefford, et Ricardus Edenet, Rector Ecclesie de Lannemenagh, quondam fuerunt seisiti in dominico suo ut de feodo, et sic inde seisiti predictum manerium cum pertinenciis tenuerunt de domino Rege in capite, set per que servicia penitus ignorant ; et sic inde seisiti predictum manerium cum suis pertinenciis, licencia regia inde prius non optenta, dederunt et concesserunt cuidam Johanni Domino Straunge, filio Rogeri Straunge, et Matildis uxori ejus, jam defuncte ; Habendum et Tenendum eis et heredibus suis de corporibus suis exeuntibus ; virtute cujus doni iidem Johannes et Matilda fuerunt inde seisiti in dominico suo ut de feodo, juxta formam doni predicti ; et quod idem manerium cum pertinenciis valet per annum in omnibus exitibus suis ultra reprisas viginti marcas.”‡

The manor was accordingly seized, more than three quarters of a century after the forfeiture was incurred. Verily *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi* !

On January 23rd, 1474, Edward IV granted the manor of Holeborne in the suburbs of London, which had been taken into the King's hands by virtue of the above inquisition of April 3rd, 1473, to Thomas Stanley, Lord de Stanley, Steward of the Household, William Grene, clerk, Morgan Kydwelly and Richard Morys, for their good services ; To hold to them from the said April 3rd, as long as the said manor should remain in the King's hands, without paying any rent or rendering any account.§

Lord Stanley was the second baron, and was created Earl of Derby in 1485.

On May 16th, 14 Edward IV, 1474, John Broughton, Richard Godfrey, John Asshfeld and John Gyrton, came before the King in his Chancery at Westminster, and complained that the Manor of Holebourne had been seized into the King's hands, and

* It was common enough with copyholds.

† Son of Roger, 5th Baron ; and brother of John, 6th Baron.

‡ Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 13 Edward IV, No. 44.

§ Patent Roll, 13 Edward IV, part 2, m. 17.

that they had been put out of possession thereof unjustly ; for, said they, long before the taking of the said inquisition, and before the said John, Lord Straunge, had any interest in the said Manor, one William Toumies [?] was seised thereof in his demesne as of fee, and held it of the King in free burgage, as all the City of London is held ; and being so seised, he enfeoffed the said John Broughton and the others, to hold to them and their heirs for ever ; and they remained seised thereof until John, now Lord Straunge, disseised them. While they were thus disseised, the Manor was taken into the King's hands as aforesaid. They prayed that possession might be restored to them.

On November 16th, 14 Edward IV, 1474, the four claimants put in their plea again, as before. They say further that the King, by his Letters Patent, dated January 23rd, 13 Edward IV, 1474, has granted the said Manor to Thomas Stanley, Lord de Stanley [and others], and ask that they may be summoned to show cause why the said Letters Patent should not be annulled.*

I have not found any further proceedings in this matter, nor anything to throw light on the petitioners' claim. On May 10th, 1477, the King exemplified, at the instance of John Broughton, Esq., by a charter of *Inspeximus*, the confirmation by Edward III of his grant to Ebulo Lestraunge, deceased, and Alesia, then his wife [*ante*, p. 270], the inquisition on Ebulus Lestraunge [*ante*, p. 271], the inquisition on Roger Lestraunge [*ante*, p. 271], the inquisition on John Lestraunge [*ante*, p. 272], and the inquisition of 13 Edward IV [*ante*, p. 273].†

Broughton's claim, whatever it may have been, was clearly unsuccessful, for John, Lord Strange, was in possession at the time of his death in 1479, as appears by the finding of the jury at his inquisition, held on October 26th, 1480 :—

“Qui dicunt quod Ebulus Straunge, Rector ecclesie de Grefford, et Ricardus Edenenet, Rector ecclesie de Lannemenach, fuerunt seisiti in dominico suo ut de feodo de Manerio de Holburn cum pertinenciis ; Et quod sic inde seisiti, Manerium illud cum pertinenciis dederunt Johanni domino de Straunge, filio Rogeri Straunge et Matilde uxoris ejus ac heredibus ipsius Johannis de corpore suo exeuntibus, virtute cujus doni prefatus Johannes fuit seisitus de manerio predicto . . cum pertinenciis in dominico suo ut de feodo tailliato, per formam doni predicti, et de tali statu inde seisitus obiit. Post cujus mortem manerium predictum cum pertinenciis descendebat Ricardo Straunge ut filio et heredi predicti Johannis, per quod idem

* Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 13 Edward IV, No. 44.

† Patent Roll, 17 Edward IV, part 1, m. 4.

Ricardus filius et heres ejusdem Johannis in predictum manerium cum pertinenciis intravit, et inde fuit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo tailliato, per formam doni predicti, ac de tali statu inde obiit seisitus. Post cujus mortem idem manerium descendebat Johanni Straunge, militi, nuper domino Straunge, ut filio et heredi predicti Ricardi Straunge, per quod idem Johannes filius et heres predicti Ricardi in manerium predictum cum pertinenciis intravit, et inde fuit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo tailliato, per formam doni predicti, necnon de tali statu seisitus de manerio predicto obiit, xvj^o die mensis Octobris, anno xix^o Regis predicti [1479]. Post cujus mortem dictum manerium descendebat per formam doni predicti Johanne, filie et heredi predicti Johannis filii Ricardi, que quidem Johanna est uxor nunc Georgii Stanley, militis, nunc domini Straunge, et eadem Johanna est etatis viginti et unius annorum ac amplius. Et dicunt eciam Jurati predicti quod predictum manerium cum pertinenciis tenetur de domino Rege, set per que servicia penitus ignorant.”*

Joan Lestrangle, Baroness Strange of Knockyn in her own right, was, as appears above, already married in or before 1480. Her husband, Sir George Stanley, was the eldest son of Thomas Stanley, 1st Earl of Derby, who had the grant of the manor of Holborn in 1474 [*ante*, p. 273].

Sir George died in the lifetime of his father, and so did not succeed to the Earldom.

Joan died on October 26th, 1514, leaving her son and heir Thomas, 2nd Earl of Derby. There is no return of her London or Middlesex property.†

Thomas, the 2nd Earl, died May 23rd, 1521. His inquisition gives much information as to the dealings with the Holborn estate, from which the following is extracted :—

Long before the death of Thomas, Earl of Derby, Joan Stanley, Lady Lestrangle, his mother, was seised of the manor of Holbourne, and of 12 messuages, 40 gardens, and 1 acre of land in Holbourne and Fleet Street.

So seised, she, by charter dated May 26th, 21 Henry VII, 1506, granted all the said premises in London to Robert Brudnell, William Grevyll, William Fayrefax, Serjeant at Law, Richard Sutton, Thomas Pygott, John Cheyne, Richard Croke, Anthony Fitzherbert, Thomas Stanley and George Herberne, and their heirs, to the uses specified in certain indentures of even date, and made between the said Lady

* Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 20 Edward IV, No. 99.

† Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 6 Henry VIII, No. 111.

Lestrangle of the one part, and John Pynner and Parme his wife, of the other part.

The said Robert Brudnell and the other feoffees, being so seised, by a charter dated May 27th, 21 Henry VII, 1506, at the instance of the said Lady Lestrangle, granted to the said John Pynner and Parme his wife, an annuity of 10 marks issuing out of the said premises, for the term of 20 years from Lady Day then last past.

Afterwards the said Lady Lestrangle, by charter dated October 20th, 2 Henry VIII, 1510, granted to Thomas Stanley, one of the sons of Peter Stanley, Esq., and Margery his wife, formerly of Ewlowe in the County of Flint, all the said manor of Holborn and other the premises for life.

By bill indented, dated November 6th, 8 Henry VIII, 1516, made between the said Earl of the one part and the said Thomas Stanley of the other part, it was agreed that the said Thomas Stanley should release to the Earl all his interest in the said manor of Holborn for certain considerations therein set forth.

All the said premises are held of the King in free burgage, and are worth £10 clear, yearly.

The Earl died May 23rd last; Edward Stanley is his son and next heir, and was then aged 12 years and 14 days.*

[At the foot of Pateshale's conveyances of Thavy's Inn to Gregory Nicholas in 1548, is a memorandum to the effect that the vendor admitted the execution of the conveyance *apud Darby Howse in Showe Lane*.† I have not found any other instance of the use of this name.]

Edward Stanley, 3rd Earl of Derby, died October 24th, 1572. His inquisition does not mention the Holborn property.‡ Nor is it referred to in the inquisition of his successor, Henry, 4th Earl, who died September 25th, 1593.§

On the death of his successor, Ferdinando, 5th Earl, who died April 16th, 1594, we get some further particulars.

Inquisition taken at the Guildhall, June 13th, 37 Elizabeth, 1595, after the death of Ferdinando, late Earl of Derby. Long before the death of the said late Earl, Edward late Earl, his grandfather, had issue Henry, his son and heir,

* Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 13 Henry VIII, No. 95.

† See *post*, p. 287.

‡ Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 15 Elizabeth, No. 67.

§ Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 35 Elizabeth, part 1, No. 88.

(father of Ferdinando), Thomas and Edward. Henry, afterwards Earl of Derby, had issue Edward, his eldest son, (who died March 5th [1562], at Holborne in the suburbs of London, without heir male of his body), Ferdinando (late Earl), his second son, William (now Earl), the third son, and Francis, the fourth son. The said Edward late Earl, long before the death of Ferdinando, was seised in his demesne as of fee of and in the manor of Holborne with the appurtenances in the suburbs of London and within the County of the City, and of 100 houses, 40 gardens, and an acre of land in Holburne and Shoe Lane; and being so seised, he, by his charter, dated at Holborne, March 20th, 12 Elizabeth, [1570], settled the same on himself for life, without impeachment of waste, with remainder to Henry then Lord Straunge for 99 years (if he should so long live), with remainder to his first and other sons successively in tail male, with remainder to Thomas Stanley, second son of Edward late Earl of Derby, for life, with like remainders to his sons, with remainder to the said Edward Stanley, third son of Edward late Earl of Derby, for life, with like remainders to his sons, with remainder to the heirs male of the body of the said Edward late Earl, with remainder to the heirs male of the body of George, Lord Straunge, grandfather of the said Edward late Earl, with remainder to the heirs of the body of the said Edward late Earl, with remainder to his right heirs for ever.

The said Edward late Earl died on October 24th, 14 Elizabeth, [1572], at Holborne aforesaid. The said Henry late Earl died September 25th, 35 Elizabeth, [1593], at Holeborne aforesaid. Ferdinando late Earl died April 16th, 36 Elizabeth, [1594], at Holeborne aforesaid, without heir male of his body; whereupon William now Earl of Derby entered upon the said premises. The said manor and premises are held of the Queen in free burgage, and are worth £10 yearly clear. The Ladies Anne, Frances, and Elizabeth are his daughters and next heirs. His widow, Alice, is still living at Holeborne.*

In 1598, the capital messuage of the Manor of Holborn was no longer occupied by its owners. Stow records that "in this Shooe Lane, on the lefte hand, is one old house called Oldborne Hall; it is now letten out into divers tenementes."† It is

* Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 37 Elizabeth, part 2, No. 116.

† Stow's Survey, ed. 1598, p. 316.

somewhat remarkable that none of Stow's subsequent editors were able to add anything to this very meagre note.

The hall was doubtless in bad condition, and, as we shall see, it seems to have been rebuilt soon afterwards. Apparently the grounds were also built over about the same time. The following petition, which is without date, but is prior to May 24th, 1612, refers to these building operations:—

"To the right Ho^{ble} the Earle of Salisbury, Lo. : Tresorer of England.

"The humble petition of Tho: Penkithman of Warrington in Lancashire,

"Humbly sheweth

"That yo^r Petitioner havinge bestowed much money in buildinge certen houses in Shoe Lane in London upon wast ground of the right Ho^{ble} the now Earle of Darbye's predecesso^r;

"And after his time expired, aboute 14 yeares last past, yo^r Orato^r tooke a lease of the said Earle of Darbye of the said houses for 21 yeares under certen rent, w^{ch} was paid to the said Earle by the space of 5 yeares.

"But one Shute, pretendinge to have a lease (formerlye granted) of the premisses, was possessed thereof before yo^r Lo: Orato^r tooke his lease of the said Earle: by means whereof yo^r Orato^r never enjoyed them accordinge to his Lo^{pps} grant," etc., etc.*

In Newcourt's Map of London, 1658, the site appears to be almost all built over, while in Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1677, the whole of the ground (except a portion taken to enlarge the burial ground of S. Andrew's, Holborn) is shown to be covered with buildings, separated only by narrow courts and alleys. One of these was called "Eagle and Child Alley," an obvious reminiscence of the Stanley family, their crest being "on a chapeau *gules*, turned up *ermine*, an eagle *or*, preying on an infant in its cradle, *proper*, swaddled *gules*."

Wilkinson, in his *Londiniana*, pp. 180, 181, gives two plates of Holborn Hall; one showing the front, and a fine stucco ceiling, dated 1617; the other a richly carved mantelpiece in the principal apartment. Some description of the house and site are added. The place was then, 1834, in the occupation of Messrs. Pontifex.

This newer house was standing in 1855, according to Newton's *London in the Olden Time*. He says, "a part of a mansion is yet standing, and bears marks of some antiquity; it is presumed, however, that this is not the original Oldborne Hall

* State Papers, Domestic, James I, vol. 69, No. 38. Prior to May 24, 1612.

mentioned by Stow, as it is evidently an erection of the time of James I.*

Such then is the descent of the Earl of Lincoln's house. It is, I think, abundantly clear from the foregoing evidence that it was on a site perfectly distinct from that of Lincoln's Inn.†

Let us now examine the history of the Bishop of Chichester's house. We have already seen what the three earliest authorities have to say about it [*ante*, p. 263, *et seq.*]; Bishop Montague's account in 1635 will be found in the Black Books.‡

The site formed part of the estate of one John Herlycun or Herlizun, which was forfeited to the Crown for some cause that does not appear. Part of this was granted to Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, in 1226, but only during the King's pleasure.

The King grants to the Bishop of Chichester the garden with appurtenances which was John Herlycun's, in the new street before the New Temple [*in novo vico ante Novum Templum*] to keep during the King's pleasure. Dated May 2; 10 Henry III, [1226].§

This was followed in July, 1227, by a grant in fee of the same or some other portion of Herlizun's property:—

"Henricus Rex, etc., Salutem. Noveritis nos dedisse concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse venerabili patri Radulpho Cycestr' Episcopo, Cancellario nostro, placiam illam cum gardino et pertinentiis suis que fuit Johannis Herlizun, qui terras suas forisfecit, in vico illo qui vocatur Newestrete, exopposito terre ejusdem Episcopi in eodem vico, que quidem placia cum gardino et pertinentiis suis escaeta nostra est per libertatem Civitatis Lond', secundum quam omnes terre eorum qui terras forisfaciunt escaete nostre sunt de quocunque teneant, sic recognitum fuit coram nobis in curia nostra apud Turrim London' ad ultima placita eiusdem Civitatis de corona, Habendam et tenendam eidem Episcopo, et quibuscumque eam dare assignare vel legare voluerit, in feudo et hereditate, bene et in pace, libere quiete integre et pacifice, faciendo inde dominis feodi illius debitum eis inde servicium. Quare

* Page 90.

† The Bishop of Lincoln had a residence in or near Holborn, which has sometimes been confused with Lincoln's Inn; *e.g.*, the index to Strype's *Stow*, ed. 1720, has "Lincoln's Inn, formerly belonging to the Bishops of that place." It adjoined the Old Temple, and was built (according to Stow) about 1147. Stow calls it "the Bishop of Lincoln's Inne." "It hath of late yeeres belonged to the Earles of Southampton, and therefore called Southampton House." *Stow's Survey*, ed. 1618, p. 824.

‡ Vol. ii, p. 332, *et seq.*

§ Close Roll, 10 Henry III, m. 19.

volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predictus Episcopus et illis quibus predictam placiam cum gardino et pertinenciis suis dare assignare vel legare voluerit, eandem placiam cum gardino et pertinenciis suis, habeant et teneant in feodo et hereditate, bene et in pace, libere, quiete, integre et pacifice, sicut predictum est. Hiis testibus [etc.]. Datum per manum nostram apud Westm' xix die Julii, anno regno nostro xj, [1227]."*

The original charter is now in the possession of the Society, and was no doubt handed over when the freehold was purchased in 1580. A *facsimile* of it forms the frontispiece to this volume.

It was probably shortly after the date of this charter that the Bishop commenced to build his palace. Bishop Reade says of him—"Hic acquisivit Episcopatus terras sive gardinum juxta Vetus Templum Londini, in vico vocato 'Chancelleres Lane,' et ibidem sumptuose edificavit."† A few fragments, apparently of a window, found in digging the foundations for the westward extension of the chapel in 1877, and now erected in the undercroft, show that the building was in the early English style of architecture.‡

In 1235 Henry granted the remainder of Herlizun's estate to the House of Converts.

The King grants to the House which he caused to be founded in the street called Newestrete between the Old Temple and the New, for the sustentation of the Converts from Judaism to the Catholic faith, "domos et terras quas fuerunt Johannis Herlicun in London' et sunt in manu Regis tamquam escaeta Regis, excepto gardino quod fuit eiusdem Johannis in vico predicto de Newestrete, et quod dominus Rex prius per cartam suam concessit R. Cicestr' Episcopo, Cancellario suo."§

Bishop Neville died in his new palace in 1244, as Matthew Paris records:—

"Sub eisdem quoque diebus venerabilis pater Episcopus Cicestrensis, Radulphus scilicet de Novilla, Angliæ Cancellarius, vir per omnia laudabilis, et immota columpna fidelitatis in regni et regis negotiis, Londiniis in nobili palatio suo quod a fundamentis non procul a Novo Templo construxerat, Kal. Febr. vitam temporalem terminavit, perpetuam adepturus."||

* Charter Roll, 11 Henry III, part 2, m. 7, No. 19.

† Chichester; Register Reade.

‡ The fragments as now reconstructed show a semi-circular arch, but there can be no doubt that it should be pointed.

§ Close Roll, 19 Henry III, m. 13.

|| Rolls Series, ii, p. 480.

Neville was succeeded by Richard de Wyche, 1244-1253, afterwards canonised, and known as S. Richard of Chichester, who died April 3rd, 1253.

He no doubt resided in the palace in Chancery Lane, though the statement to that effect in 1466, must be traditional only.* The chapel was subsequently dedicated to him and his image was placed in it.†

It is not to be expected that episcopal property can be traced with the same minuteness as a lay fee; there are no Inquisitions *post mortem*, and charters, grants to uses, or other acts *inter vivos* are alike wanting under the "dead hand." Accordingly, the references to the Bishops' house are few and far between. Had the Registers of the early Bishops of Chichester been preserved,‡ many of the gaps would doubtless have been reduced; as it is, I have found no evidence between 1244 and 1340.

Robert de Stratford was appointed Bishop of Chichester in 1337, being then Chancellor. He resigned the Great Seal in July 1338, but was reappointed June 20th, 1340. He was not sworn in until July 12th, when the following memorandum of the transaction was recorded on the Close Roll:—

"Qui quidem Episcopus, prestito Sacramento, prout moris est, de Officio Cancellarii fideliter faciendo, idem Sigillum manibus suis propriis a predicto Johanne de Sancto Paulo § recepit, et ad illud Hospitium in vico qui vocatur Chaunceler-lane, deportari, et in Crastino, in camera sua, immediate post Prandium, in Hospitio suo predicto, aperiri, et ibidem Literas Patentes et Brevia de cursu et alia, inde consignari fecit."||

The Close Roll of 1375 shows the Bishops' House still in Chancery Lane.

pro Rogero	Memorandum quod facta nuper coram Consilio
Leget de	Domini Regis clamosa querimonia tam clericorum
pardon'	de Cancellaria et apprenticiorum de Curia Domini
posicionis	Regis quam aliorum de populo Civitatis London'
ingeniorum	quod quidem Rogerus Leget super quoddam fossatum
vocatorum	in campo de Fikettesfeld juxta hospicium Episcopi
caltrappes.	Cicestr' per ipsum Rogerum de novo levatum ubi
	dicti clerici et apprenticii ac alii Civitatis predicte
communem	deductum suum habere solebant, quamplura ingenia
ferrea vocata	caltrappes privatim posuit et abscondit, videlicet tam

* Black Books, vol. i, p. 41.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 313.

‡ Dallaway, *Sussex*, i, 35, states that the early Registers of the Bishops of Chichester were lost or destroyed upon the city's being taken and plundered by Sir William Waller in 1642.

§ Master of the Rolls and temporary Keeper of the Great Seal.

|| Close Roll, 14 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 13d.; Rymer's *Fœdera*, v, 195.

in fundamento quam super verticem dicti fossati et undique circa dictum fossatum, sciens ipsos clericos, apprenticios et alios homines predictos communes progressus et ludos suos ibidem cotidie excercuisse, ad maliciosam et malivolam intencionem quod omnes super dictum fossatum venientes mahemiarentur vel alias ad minus gravissime lederentur; que quidem ingenia per dictos clericos et apprenticios et alios ibidem transeuntes inventa, et coram Consilio predicto in Domo Capitulari Fratrum Predicatorum London' portata, et ibidem aperte demonstrata fuerunt. Et super hoc idem Rogerus coram dicto Consilio ductus, super premissis responsurus, et ibidem per dictum Consilium inde allocutus, fatebatur delictum et maliciam suam in forma predicta facta fuisse, et inde gracie Domini Regis et Consilii sui se submisit, per quod predictus Rogerus missus fuit prisone Regis de Flete ad graciā Domini Regis ibidem expectandus. Et postmodum Dominus Rex, xij die Marcii, anno regni sui Anglie quadragesimo nono, postquam idem Rogerus in prisona predicta diu moratus fuisset, pro viginti marcis per ipsum Rogerum in Hanaperio Cancellarie Regis solutis, admisit predictum Rogerum ad graciā suam, et ei transgressionem factam in premissis de gracia sua pardonavit, nolens quod idem Rogerus occasione transgressionis predicte imposterum ad sectam Regis impetratur, molestetur in aliquo seu gravetur.*

There is nothing here to suggest that the Bishop (William Reade) was not in personal occupation of the *Hospitium*, unless it be the reference to the *apprenticii de Curia Domini Regis*. How far, if at all, the apprentices "*de Curia*" differed from those "*de Banco*" and "*ad legem*", is open to question, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the *apprenticii de Curia* were connected with some or one of the Inns of Court or Chancery.

The fact that they are mentioned in connection with the Clerks of the Chancery seems to indicate that they had a local habitation. They may perhaps have been members of Clifford's Inn, which had been let *apprenticiis de Banco* as early as 1344.†

The earliest Register now remaining at Chichester is that of Bishop Robert Reade or Rede, who occupied the See from 1396 to 1415. A careful search has been made in this and several subsequent Registers for all statements throwing light on the episcopal residence in London. The information has been supplied mainly from the *datum* clauses of deeds and letters, and in a few instances from notes of institutions to benefices.

* Close Roll, 49 Edward III, m. 40.

† Inquisition on Robert de Clifford; Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 18 Edward III, first numbers, No. 50, m. 4.

The Site of Lincoln's Inn.

The various items are as follows:—

1399, April 25th and 28th. *Datum in Hospicio nostro London'*. [Register Reade, fo. 72.]

The like form also occurs in 1402, October 18th, 19th and 27th, and November 2nd, [*ibid.*, fo. 98.]; 1404-5, February 20th, [fo. 13*d.*]; in 1406, November 18th, [fo. 23]; and in 1409-10, February 14th, [fo. 56]. 1410-1, March 3rd, we find the form *in Hospicio suo London'*, [*ibid.*, fo. 144], and the same words are used in documents dated 1411, November 24th and 26th, [fo. 148*d.*]; December 9th, [fo. 149]; and in 1412-3, March 22nd, [fo. 153*d.*].

There can be no doubt that the *Hospicium* mentioned in these entries is the house built by Bishop Neville, now known as Lincoln's Inn; and as the Society of Lincoln's Inn was certainly in occupation of it in 1422, it may be assumed that they came to it in or shortly before that year.

After the occupation of the episcopal residence by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, the Bishops of Chichester seem to have used various houses in London. At least six are mentioned. 1. A house in the parish of S. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street; 2. A house in the parish of S. Mary Mounthaw; 3. The Bishop of Carlisle's house in the Strand; 4. A house in S. James's Hospital; 5. A house in Tothill Street, Westminster; and 6. A house in the parish of S. Andrew's, near Paul's Wharf.

1439, November 19th; *Datum in Hospicio residencie domini Cicestrensis Episcopi in parochia Sancte Marie Magdalene London'*. [Register Praty, 1438 to 1445, fo. 11*d.*]. On November 23rd of the same year, the parish is specified to be "in Oldfishstrete, London." [fo. 12*d.*].

1444, July 7th; *in Hospicio residencie suo pro tempore in parochia Beate Marie de Mounthaut, Civitate London'*. [fo. 36*d.*]. The like form occurs again on October 20th following [fo. 38].

There is a gap in the Registers from 1445 to 1478.

1478, October 15th; *in manerio domini Karliolensis Episcopi London' prope Westmonasterium*. [Register Story,* 1478 to 1503, fo. 39*d.*].

1480, May 12th; *in domo vulgariter nuncupata the Bysshop of Carlles place apud le Stronde*. This form also occurs on December 14th, 1480, November 18th and 21st, 1481, and January 31st, 1484. [Book E, fos. 107*d.*, 108.]

1480, December 9th; *in domo nostre solite residencie in surburbiis Civitatis London' situate*. [Register Story, fo. 55.]

* Edward Story had been Bishop of Carlisle before his translation to Chichester. He occupied the latter See from March 27th, 1478, up to his death, January 29th, 1502-3.

The next note seems to show that the "accustomed residence" and the Bishop of Carlisle's house were one and the same.

1481, July 4th; *in domo solite residencie Reverendi Patris Edwardi Cicestrensis Episopi in suburbiis Civitatis London' juxta Westmonasterium, vulgariter nuncupata Hospicium Episcopi Karliolensis* [fo. 19d.] Slight variations of these forms occur also in 1485 and 1486 [fos. 3, 5d.]

1491, July 1st; *in Hospicio domini [Episcopi] infra Hospitale Sancti Jacobi in campo [sic] juxta Westmonasterium* [fo. 9d.].

1508, January 5th; *in domo habitacionis Reverendi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Roberti permissione Divina Cicestrensis Episcopi in Totehill Strete juxta Westmonasterium* [Register Sherborne, fo. 1].

1553, December 2nd; *in edibus solite habitacionis nostre infra parochiam Sancti Andree prope Paules Wharfe London'*. [Register Sampson, fo. 91 d.].

These various references seem to me most effectually to dispose of the statement made by nearly all writers on the subject, to the effect that the Bishops reserved lodgings for themselves at Lincoln's Inn. The claim was made by Bishop Montague in 1635, [Black Books, iii, 334, 337], but he produced no evidence, and the right was not admitted by the Society. There is certainly no trace of such a reservation in the Black Books, nor in the lease from Bishop Sherborne to William Suliard in 1535.

The original of this lease is preserved among the Society's muniments. The seals of the Bishop and of the Dean and Chapter still remain. There is a written confirmation by the latter body. The matter is thus recorded in the Chapter Act book:—

"xx^o Decembris, Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo xxxv^o, Decanus et Capitulum confirmarunt suo sigillo communi indenturam locacionis firme magni messuagii vocati Lyncolns Inne Magistro Willelmo Sulyard armigero pro termino nonaginta novem annorum, reddendo annuatim decem marcas Episcopo Cicestrensi et successoribus suis in festo Michaelis annuatim."*

Bishop Sampson, who succeeded Bishop Sherborne, within a month of his consecration conveyed the reversion in Lincoln's Inn to William and Eustace Suliard. The deed is as follows:—

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum pervenerit, Ricardus permissione divina Cicestrensis Episcopus, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Sciatis nos prefatum Episcopum

* Chichester; White Act Book, fo. 77 d.

dedisse concessisse et hoc presenti scripto nostro confirmasse Willelmo Suliard, armigero, et Eustachio Suliard, uni generosorum Hostiariorum Camere Domini Regis, totum illud messuagium nostrum vocatum Lyncolnes Inn, cum curiis curtilagiis gardinis et orto vocato le Conygarth, ab antiquo vocato Coterell Garden, cum pertinenciis, una cum quadam via per portam vocatam Feldegate ex oppositam Domum Conversorum vulgariter nuncupatam le Rolles, videlicet a communi strata vocata Chauncery Lane per dictam portam usque in campum vocatum Fykettes Feld, et ab hinc directe usque ad messuagium predictum, ad cariandum et recariandum per eandem viam cum equis bigis et carectis omni tempore anni; Necnon cum omnibus commoditatibus juribus et fraunchesiis viis semitis fossis et fossatis predicto messuagio et ceteris premissis ab antiquo debitis et consuetis, situatis sive jacentibus in parochiis Sancti Andree in Holborne, Sancti Dunstani le West London, et Sancti Egidii in Campis in Comitatu Middelsex; Habendum et tenendum predictum messuagium ac cetera premissa cum pertinenciis prefatis Willelmo et Eustachio, heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum, de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde prius debita et de jure consueta, videlicet de Domino Priore Sancti Johannis Jerusalem' in Anglia et successoribus suis, per fidelitatem tantum pro omnibus serviciis exactionibus et demandis. Et nos prefatus Episcopus et successores nostri, omnia predicta messuagium et cetera premissa et quamlibet inde parcella cum pertinenciis, prefatis Willelmo et Eustachio, heredibus et assignatis suis, contra Abbatem Monasterii Sancti Petri Westmon' et successores suos warantizabimus, acquietabimus et imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. Ex ulterius sciatis nos prefatum Episcopum attornasse, constituisse et in loco nostro posuisse per presentes dilectos nobis in Christo Thomam Houghton, clericum, et Johannem Senowe, generosum, nostros veros et legitimos attornatos conjunctim et divisim ad intrandum vice et nomine nostro in predictum messuagium et cetera premissa cum pertinenciis, et pro nobis vice et nomine nostro possessionem et seisinam inde capiendam, et post hujusmodi possessionem et seisinam sic inde captam et habitam ad deliberandam pro nobis, vice et nomine nostro, plenam et pacificam possessionem et seisinam de et in predicto messuagio et ceteris premissis cum pertinenciis prefatis Willelmo et Eustachio, heredibus et assignatis suis, secundum vim formam et effectum hujus presentis scripti nostri, ratum et gratum habendum et habiturum totum et quicquid dicti attornati nostri fecerint in premissis in tam amplis modo et forma prout nos personaliter ibidem interessemus. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Datum primo die Julii, anno Regni Henrici octavi Dei Gracie Anglie et Francie

Rex, Fidei Defensoris, Domini Hibernie, et in terra supremi capitis Anglicane Ecclesie, xxviii^o "*.

The Memorandum of confirmation by the Dean and Chapter is as follows :—

"Sexto die mensis Julii, anno domino millesimo quingentesimo xxxvj^{to}, Decanus et Capitulum confirmarunt suo sigillo communi litteras Reverendissimi Patris Ricardi Episcopi Cicestrensis ex altero latere scriptas."†

On the top of the opposite page, that is, fo. 79, is written the cancelled grant to Henry VIII, while the grant to the Suliards commences below this, about the middle of the page. The letter "a" is written in the margin at the beginning of the entry of the confirmation and at the beginning of the grant to the Suliards.

The cancelled grant to Henry VIII is as follows :—

"Omnibus Xpi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Ricardus permissione divina Cicestrensis Episcopus, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis nos prefatum Episcopum dedisse concessisse et hoc presenti scripto nostro confirmasse Illustrissimo Domino nostro Domino Henrico Octavo, Dei gracia Anglie et Francie Regi, Fidei Defensori, Domino Hibernie, ac in terris supremo capiti Anglicane Ecclesie, totum illud magnum messuagium nostrum vocatum Lyncolns Inne, cum curiis curtilagiis gardinis et orto vocato le Conygarth, cum pertinenciis, una cum quadam via per portam vocatam Feldegate exoppositam Domus Conversorum vulgariter nuncupatam le Rolls, videlicet, [parcels as in the previous deed, p. 285, but omitting the reference to S. Giles's parish]. Habendum et tenendum predictum messuagium ac cetera premissa cum suis pertinenciis prefato Serenissimo Domino nostro Regi, heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Datum primo die Julii, anno regni dicti Domini nostri Regis, xxviii^o."‡

The subsequent sale of the freehold by Edward Suliard to the Society of Lincoln's Inn in 1580, appears in the Black Books.§

I have now traced the devolution of the Earl of Lincoln's house from 1286 to the reign of James I, and that of the Bishops of Chichester from 1226 to the time of its acquisition by the Society in 1580. The two descents, if I may use the term, are perfectly distinct, and there can be no doubt that the two properties were separate, and on different sites.

* White Act Book, fo. 79.

† *Ibid.*, fo. 78*d*.

‡ *Ibid.*, fo. 79.

Vol. 1, pp. 419, 423.

Having established the Society in the House of the Bishops of Chichester, it still remains for me to explain, if possible, why the Society called itself "Lincoln's Inn," and used the arms of the Earl of Lincoln. There seems to be no direct evidence bearing upon the subject. I can put forward a theory, but it is nothing more.

Before doing so, however, it will be necessary to consider the early history of Thavy's Inn and Furnival's Inn, the two Inns of Chancery attached to Lincoln's Inn.

Thavy's Inn was the resort of one of the earliest of the law societies of which we have any documentary evidence.* In 1348, one John Tavy, armourer,† makes the following devise in his will:—

"Item lego omnia tenementa mea cum omnibus suis pertinentiis que habeo in parte australi in parochia Sancti Andree, preter illam shopam quam legavi Isabelle filie mee, ut predictum est, Alicie uxori mee ad totum terminum vite sue, et quod post decessum predictae Alicie totum illud hospicium in [quo] apprenticii habitare solebant per executores meos, si superstites fuerint, una [cum] executoribus predictae Alicie, vendatur," etc. Dated "die Jovis proxima ante festum Sancti Gregorii Pape, A.D. 1348."‡

All writers from Coke downwards have inserted the words *legis* or *ad legem*§ after the word *apprenticii*; these words are not in the enrolled copy. Still there seems no reason to doubt that the apprentices who were wont to inhabit Thavy's house were a society of lawyers and law students of some sort.||

Nothing further seems to be known as to the ownership of Thavy's Inn for two centuries. By an Indenture dated November 24th, 2 Edward VI, 1548, and made between Roger Pateshale of Myntye in the county of Gloucester, gentleman, of the one part, and Gregory Nicholas, Citizen and Mercer of London, of the other part, in consideration of £100, Pateshale bargained and sold to Nicholas, his heirs and assigns for ever "All that Capytall or greate mesuage wyth th'appurtenaunces, sett, lying, and beyng in the parisshe of Saynt Andrewe in Holborne, in the Suburbes of London, comonly callyd Davye's Inne."

At the foot of the deed is this note:—

Cognitum fuit presens per supradictum Rogerum Pateshale, apud Darby House in Showe lane, ultimo die Novembris, anno

* Clifford's Inn is actually the earliest; see *ante*, p. 282, note †.

† Not *armiger*, as sometimes printed.

‡ Hustings Roll 77, No. 242.

§ Coke has *apprenticii legis*; Introduction to 10th Report. Dugdale has *apprenticii ad legem*; Orig. Jur., p. 270.

|| That the word apprentice was used alone with that meaning is shown by the well-known passage in the Year Books, Michaelmas Term, 29 Edward III, 1355, where *les apprentices in hostels*, are mentioned.

supradicto, coram Edwardo Mountagu, milite, Capitulo Justiciario Domini Regis de Communi Banco, ad irrotulandum coram eodem Edwardo et sociis suis, Justiciariis Domini Regis de eodem Banco.
[signed] EDWARD MOUNTAGU.*

In 1550 Nicholas sold the freehold to the Society of Lincoln's Inn.† Some title deeds appear to have been handed over on that occasion, but Pateshale's conveyance is the only one that can now be found. In 1581 the Society ordered that all deeds and evidences of Lincoln's Inn, Furnival's Inn, Thavy's Inn, etc., should be copied into a Register Book;‡ and in the following year a payment of £4 was made to the Chief Butler for so doing.§ This book is unfortunately also missing.

Of Furnival's Inn, Dugdale gives the following account:—

"This, being long ago an house of the Lord *Furnivall's*, had thereupon the name of *Furnivall's Inne*; and by some of them was antiently demised to the Students of the Law: for in 9 H. 4 it appears by their Steward's Accompts that they resided in it."||

I have not been able to identify this property earlier than 1383. William de Furnival, fourth Lord Furnival, died in that year, and the following is a translation of the return made after his death.

Inquisition taken before John Norhampton, Mayor of the City of London, and the King's Escheator there, May 6th, 6 Richard II, [1383]. The jurors say on their oath that William de Furnyvall did not die seised of any lands or tenements in the City of London nor in the suburbs thereof, but they say that in his lifetime he was seised of two messuages and 13 shops with appurtenances in the street called Holbourne in the suburbs of the said City, lying between the tenement of Jordan de Barton on the east and that of John de Tonyngton on the west, and which formerly belonged to Roger atte Bogh; which William de Furnyvall in his lifetime enfeoffed William Savage, parson of the church of Handesworth, and John Redeser, chaplain, of the said messuages and shops, to have and to hold to the said William Savage and John Redeser, their heirs and assigns for ever; and they are now seised thereof accordingly. The said messuages and shops are worth 100s. yearly, and are

* The original deed is in the possession of the Society.

† Black Books, vol i, pp. 297, 298.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

|| *Origines Juridiciales*, p. 270.

held of the King in free burgage, as is all the City of London, by the service of 11s. 4d. for all service.

William de Furnyvall died on April 12th last. Joan, wife of Thomas de Nevyl, is his daughter and heir, aged 14 years and 7 months.*

This property is not mentioned in the Inquisitions post mortem of Thomas, second Lord Furnival, or of Thomas, third Baron (father and brother of the above-named William); and the wording of the above Inquisition suggests that William, the 4th Baron, had purchased it from Roger atte Bogh.

Lord Furnival's wife, Thomasia or Thomasina, daughter of Thomas de Dagworth, survived her husband. It does not appear that she claimed any rights of dower in the Holborn property.†

On June 22nd, 1383, an order was issued to the Escheator of Yorkshire to deliver up to Joan, daughter and heir of William de Furnival, chivaler, deceased, and wife of Thomas de Neville, the other lands and tenements which had belonged to her father, in his own right, she having proved her age.‡

Thomas de Neville, Joan's husband, was the son of John, Lord Neville of Raby, and brother of Ralph, first Earl of Westmoreland. He was summoned to Parliament, *jure uxoris*, as Lord Furnival. Joan, Baroness Furnival in her own right, died on Thursday in the Feast of S. Mathias the Apostle, otherwise described as the Thursday in the first week of Lent, 19 Richard II, leaving an only daughter Maude, born about 1392.§

Thomas de Neville died in 1407; the following Inquisition relates to the Holborn property:—

Inquisition taken in March, 8 Henry IV, 1407, before Richard Whityngton, Mayor and Escheator of the City of

* Inq. post mortem, Chancery, 6 Richard II, No. 41. It appears from this that the suggestion made to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn in 1808 [*ante*, p. 112], namely, that Furnival's Inn was brought to this Lord Furnival by his wife, is not correct. About Roger atte Bogh, to whom the two messuages and the thirteen shops had previously belonged, I cannot supply any further information. There is no Inquisition after his death, and his name does not appear in the calendar of Feet of Fines for London and Middlesex.

† An order was issued to the Escheators of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Wiltshire, Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex, dated June 9th, 1383, to deliver up to her all lands, etc., which her late husband had held in her right (Close Roll, 6 Richard II, part 2, m. 1). Her Middlesex property was at Old Ford, which may have been confused with Oldborn. The manor of Sheffield with its dependencies was assigned to her in dower, she having sworn not to marry again without royal license, June 22nd, 1383 (Close Roll, 7 Richard II, m. 41).

‡ Close Roll, 7 Richard II, m. 41.

§ Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 19 Richard II, No. 28; ditto, 8 Henry IV, No. 89; ditto, 9 Henry IV, No. 25.

London. The jurors say that Joan, daughter and heir of William Furnyvall was seised of two messuages and 13 shops with appurtenances in the parish of S. Andrew of Holbourn in the suburbs of London, in her demesne as of fee, and married Thomas Nevyll, and has issue one Maude, wife of John Talbot. Joan died seised, and after her death her husband, the said Thomas, held the premises for his life, by the law of England. They are held of the King in free burgage, and are worth 5 marks [66s. 8d.] yearly. Thomas Neville died on the Monday before Palm Sunday last. Maude and Joan are his daughters and heirs."*

Maude's age can be supplied from other documents; she was aged 17 in August, 1409, being then the wife of John Talbot.†

Maude, Baroness Furnival in her own right, married John Talbot, 2nd son of Richard, Lord Talbot. He was summoned to Parliament *jure uxoris* as Lord Furnival.

Maude died before 1433.‡ It does not appear that any Inquisition was taken after her death. Her husband was created Earl of Shrewsbury in 1442, and Earl of Waterford in 1446. He died in 1453, when the following return was made:—

Inquisition taken at the Guildhall, before John Norman Mayor and Escheator of London, November 8th, 3rd Henry VI, [1453]. The jurors say on their oath that John [Talbot], late Earl of Shrewsbury, on the day of his death held for life by the law of England after the death of Maude his late wife, a *hospicium*, called "Fournyvalle's Inne," and two tenements, with the appurtenances, situate in the parish of S. Andrew in Holborn, in the City aforesaid, of the inheritance of John, now Earl of Shrewsbury, son and heir of the said Maude, with reversion to the said John, now Earl and his heirs. The property is worth 40s. yearly, and is held of the King in free burgage. The late Earl died on July 20th

* Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 8 Henry IV, No. 62. In bad condition Joan was Neville's daughter by his second wife, whom he married before July 14th 1401, on which day he obtained a pardon for marrying a tenant in chief without license; Patent Roll, 2 Henry IV, part 3, m. 1. It may be noted that the *de* in territorial surnames is beginning to be disused.

† Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery, 10 Henry IV, No. 25. This Inquisition was taken after the death of Thomasia, the widow of William de Furnival; she died on the Feast of S. Margaret the Virgin then last. See also Inquisitions post mortem Chancery, 8 Henry IV, No. 89.

‡ *Complete Peerage*.

the beginning of King Edward the Second's time, being a person well affected to the knowledge of the Lawes, first brought in the professors of that honourable and necessary study, to settle in the place : but direct proof thereof from good authority, I have not as yet seen any." *

That the tradition was no new thing in Dugdale's time is shown by the fact that Lacy's arms were placed on the Gatehouse in 1518, and on the louvre of the old Hall.†

Now it is clear, from what has already been said, that Lacy could not have "brought in the professors . . . to settle in this place" as Dugdale puts it, that is, in the present Lincoln's Inn, but that does not exclude the possibility of his having been the founder or patron, call it what you will, of the Society in another place. And this is what I suggest as the probable explanation.

I believe that the Society of Lincoln's Inn is identical with that company of apprentices who were living in the house of John Thavy in 1348, and were the persons "brought to settle there by the Earl of Lincoln ; that they moved subsequently to Lord Furnival's house, and thence finally to the Bishop of Chichester's house.

There is nothing in the language of Thavy's will to suggest that these apprentices were at that time recent tenants ; on the contrary, the words *habitare solebant* give the distinct impression that they had been there some time. However this may be, this record of the apprentices at Thavy's house is, at the latest, within a generation of the Earl of Lincoln's death.‡

Thavy's Inn was situated in Holborn, immediately to the south-west of S. Andrew's Church. Its principal entrance, so far as one can judge from old maps, seems to have been from Holborn, on the west side of the church, but there was also an entrance from Shoe Lane, to the south of the church, and immediately opposite the Earl's house.

Here, if anywhere, it seems to me, must have been the legal society, of which the Earl was founder or patron.

The tradition probably truly reports that he encouraged the

* *Origines Juridicales*, p. 231.

† The "loover or lanthorne," . . . "on the outside whereof, in leather the Armes of Lacy Earl of Lincoln, with Quincy and the Earl of Chester's Coat are still to be seen" ; *Origines*, p. 232. John de Lacy, Constable of Chester, Henry's grandfather, married Margaret, daughter and heir of Robert de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, by Hawise, sister and heir of Ranulf de Meschines, Earl of Chester and Lincoln.

‡ He died in 1311.

study of the common law, perhaps at first among his own clerks and servants, and afterwards as a separate society, living together at his own door.*

We have no clue to the name of the Society at this period, but I see no reason why it should not then have borne the name of Lincoln's Inn. Thavy describes his house by a circumlocution, and not by name; it is probable that the name did not attach until after his death, and it is not until long after that we find the place called in the vernacular, Thavy's Inn.

We know nothing of the internal progress of the company of apprentices in Thavy's house during the century following Thavy's death, but it is clear that the legal Societies during that period were in a flourishing condition. Fortescue, writing about 1465, mentions four Inns of Court and ten Inns of Chancery as existing in his day, and makes no reference to any of them as being then of recent establishment. This points to a steady increase in the number of lawyers for a considerable period.†

It must not be forgotten that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries none of the Inns of Court and Chancery were the owners of their *hospitia*; they were, without exception, tenants, apparently from year to year: there is no evidence of any lease. Even the influential Society of Lincoln's Inn does not appear to have had any fixity of tenure.‡

This fact is, I conceive, of the utmost importance when we consider what one of these early Societies, such as that at Thavy's house, would be forced to do when it began to outgrow the resources of its *hospitium*. Building must have been very difficult, if not impossible; there cannot have been any fund for such a purpose, and, as we have just seen, the property was not their own. Practically, there was a choice of two courses, and two only—they might divide and found elsewhere a colony, as it were, or the Society, as a whole, might remove to another building of greater capacity.

Dugdale records a tradition that the Society of Apprentices

* He was possessed of vast estates (a large portion of the Duchy of Lancaster property belonged to him); he was equally distinguished as a soldier and a statesman. An early chronicle, quoted by Weever (*Funeral Monuments*, p. 365), describes him as "*Vir illustris in consilio, strenuus in omni guerra et prelio, princeps militie in Anglia, et in omni regno ornatissimus.*"

† See note at the end of this article, showing the increase of legal business in the fourteenth century.

‡ There is no trace of any lease of Lincoln's Inn until 1472, when one John Stanney undertook to procure a lease for 90 years. It does not appear that this was ever done. See *Black Books*, vol. 1, p. 53.

at the Temple came originally from Thavy's Inn,* thus affording an example of the first method. Mr. Inderwick, K.C., gives the date of the migration as about 1347.† I further suggest that the apprentices at Thavy's house, when again pressed by increase of numbers, adopted the other alternative, and moved to a larger house, that of Lord Furnival, further west in Holborn.

If such were the case, it would be natural enough that the landlord of the old Inn would wish to get a similar class of tenants; and that a younger society would take possession of the old quarters; that the larger body in the new Inn would keep up its associations with the younger and smaller body occupying the old Inn, and would send it Readers, and admit its members on more easy terms than were granted to outsiders. Some such hypothesis, it seems to me, is one of the most plausible ways of explaining the curious relationship between the various Inns of Court and their respective Inns of Chancery. Another explanation would be that the Inns of Chancery were deliberately founded by the Inns of Court as "feeders"; a third, that the smaller houses attached themselves to the larger by a process of "commendation." But the fact must not be overlooked, that most of the lesser Inns appear to be older than the greater. On the assumption of a migration caused by increase of numbers, there would be no difficulty in starting a new society in the house of the old one, and the former would be glad of the protection and assistance given by the superior antiquity, numbers, and influence of the latter.

Furnival's Inn was considerably larger than Thavy's Inn.‡ We cannot, of course, even guess at the buildings comprising either of them in the fourteenth century, but a glance at any old map, such as Ogilby and Morgan's in 1677, will show that the area of Furnival's Inn is nearly twice as large as that of Thavy's Inn, and the buildings may well have been in proportion.

On the above theory, the Society on moving to its new premises would probably still retain its "usuall and antient

* *Origines Juridiciales*, p. 145.

† *Inner Temple Records*, vol. i, Introduction, pp. xi, xvii. A later example of this occurs in the division of the Temple into two Societies, the Inner and the Middle, in the reign of Henry VI, prior to 1440. The reason given being that the members "were multiplied and grown into soe great a bulke as could not conveniently be regulated into one Society, nor, indeed, was the old hall capable of containing so great a number, whereupon they were forced to divide themselves." *Ibid*, p. xviii.

‡ "Thavies Inn, another of the Inns of Chancery, which is but small, and chiefly taken up by the Welsh Attorneys." Strype's *Stow*, 1720, vol. i, p. 283.

name,"* and if the old house was to be occupied by a new society, a new name would have to be found for it. This, I suggest was "Thavy's Inn," after the then or late proprietor.

We have seen that Dugdale records the existence of a Steward's account proving that a legal society was in occupation of Furnival's Inn in 9 Henry IV, 1407-8. This date is very suggestive when we remember that Thomas Neville, who died in 1407, held the property for his life, by the courtesy. There is no evidence that he lived there, however, and it is quite possible that its occupation by the lawyers dates back to the time of William de Furnival. Indeed an argument, of some weight, may be founded on the name and arms. There is no well authenticated case of the word "Inn" having ever been applied to a private house in private occupation,† and therefore we may argue that the name Furnival's Inn, and consequently the occupation by the Society, must date back to a time when the proprietor, to whom the legal society paid its rent, was named Furnival, that is, before 1383. If the Society had commenced its occupation after that date, we might reasonably expect to find the Inn called "Neville's Inn" or "Talbot's Inn." It is true that both Thomas Neville and John Talbot were summoned to Parliament as "Lord Furnival"; it may be pointed out, however, that neither of them is so called in the Inquisition of 1407.‡ Then as to the arms of Furnival's Inn, the Society appears to have used those of the Furnival family, with a "difference," namely, *Argent*, a bend between six martlets, *gules*, within a border *azure*.§ This, to my mind, strongly suggests that the Society came to Furnival's Inn at a time when the landlord was himself a Furnival, that is, before the death of William de Furnival in 1383.

The Society, if my theory be right, does not seem to have been long at Lord Furnival's house. An opportunity offering, under circumstances that we cannot now ascertain, I suggest that the same Society moved from Furnival's house into the still more roomy Palace of the Bishops of Chichester in Chancery Lane, again taking with it its old name. This would be between the death of Bishop Reade in 1415 and the commencement of the Black Books in 1422.

* This was one of the conditions in the conveyance of Clifford's Inn in 1618.

† See *Hist. Eng. Dict.*, s.v. Inn.

‡ *Ante* p. 290.

§ Carter, *Analysis of Honour and Armoury*, 1673, p. 335; Edmondson's *Heraldry*; etc. The martlets are sometimes blazoned *azure*.

Here we have two items of confirmatory evidence as to the name :—

1. There is no evidence of the house of the Furnivals being called "Furnival's Inn" until after the Society of Lincoln's Inn had (on my theory) left it.

2. There is the very curious reduplication in the title to the first volume of the Black Books. This volume is headed *Liber Hospicii de Lincolsin*. Clearly both *Hospitium* and *Inn* are not wanted, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the writer was aware of the tautology. But if this was written on the removal of a Society, already known as "Lincolns Inn," to new premises which had, as yet, hardly acquired a new name, we see that the unknown writer, so far from being slipshod, was even something of a precisian. The Bishop of Chichester's house was not yet "Lincoln's Inn," but it was the "*Hospitium* of Lincoln's Inn," that is, of the Society of that name.* The expression does not occur again, the occasion for it must soon have passed away, and the new house was known by the name of its occupiers; thereafter it was "Lincoln's Inn" simply.

It is probable that the Bishop who admitted our Society to be tenants of his palace, left it with no intention of returning, and that the arrangement was thought advantageous by himself and his successors. Had any Bishop thought otherwise, he could, up to 1535 (the date of Suliard's lease), have resumed possession. It could be no object to him that the premises should continue to bear the name by which his palace had previously been known, whatever that was.† His *hospitium* was *suum* wherever he chose to live, and it would not be desirable that there should be two houses bearing the name of the See. When he left, the reason for any previous name probably went with him, and the Society on their entry called it with every right, "the *Hospitium* of Lincoln's Inn."

The theories here advanced are consistent with all the known facts, and they afford a plausible reason for the connection of Thavy's Inn and Furnival's Inn with Lincoln's Inn, and also for the fact of the name of "Lincoln's Inn" being given to a house which had no associations with the Earls of Lincoln.

On these grounds, therefore, I venture to put forward the propositions :—that the Society of Lincoln's Inn dates from some

* I am indebted to Mr. W. C. Renshaw, K.C., for calling my attention to this interesting point.

† Some writers state that it was called "Chichester Inn," but for this there is no contemporary authority.

The Site of Lincoln's Inn.

unascertainable period before 1348; that it was then in occupation of John Thavy's house; that it is not unlikely, from the close proximity of Thavy's Inn to the Earl of Lincoln's house in Shoe Lane, that the old tradition is correct, and that the Earl was in some sense the eponymous founder or patron of the Society, and that it was probably already known as "the Society of Lincoln's Inn"; that about 1347, having outgrown its quarters, it sent out a swarm, which settled in the Temple; that later on in the 14th century, and probably before 1383, owing to the same cause, it migrated to a larger house, the property of Lord Furnival, still retaining its old name; that shortly before 1422, having an opportunity of moving into still larger premises, it became tenant of the Bishop of Chichester's Palace in Chancery Lane, which thus became the *Hospitium* of Lincoln's Inn.

Floreat !

NOTE.—In order to prove my statement as to the increase of legal business during the fourteenth century, I have prepared the following table, which gives a rough estimate of the number of cases dealt with by the Court of Common Pleas. To ascertain this, I have given the actual number of membranes in the De Banco Rolls for the years 1300, 1320, 1340, 1360, 1380, 1400, and 1420. Each membrane is from two feet to two feet six inches long, and about eight to ten inches wide, and most of them are closely written on both sides. Naturally the length of cases as recorded varies very much, and consequently the number on each membrane.

In order to estimate the number of cases I have taken the average of the first hundred membranes of the roll for Hilary Term, 1340, one of medium size. This works out as follows:—

Average for the first 50	-	-	-	17.1
Average for the second 50	-	-	-	16.0
Average for the first 100	-	-	-	16.6

To be on the safe side I have multiplied the number of membranes by 15, and the result gives a fair estimate of cases for each year.

The figures are perhaps a little startling, but it must be remembered that each action may have come before the Court many times before the stage of final hearing; the Rolls contain

all the business of the Court,* much of which, under the modern practice, would be heard in chambers.

	1300.	1320.	1340.	1360.	1380.	1400.	1420.
Hilary - -	213	146	397	290	534	360	503
Easter - -	189	109	353	254	497	441	436
Trinity - -	200	218	308	294	561	434	440
Michaelmas-	381	366	610	446	637	608	556
	983	839	1,668	1,284	2,229	1,843	1,935
	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Cases - -	14,745	12,585	25,020	19,260	33,435	27,645	29,025

It will be seen that in 1340 the cases before the Court are very nearly twice as many as they were in 1300 or 1320. The falling off in 1360 was no doubt due to the devastation caused by the Black Death eleven years before. By 1380 the country appears to have entirely recovered, and there is again a substantial increase in the number of cases. The decrease in 1400 may be due to the unsettled state of the country ; 1420 shows an increase over 1400, but does not touch the high-water mark of 1380.

It may be merely an accident, but it is worthy of note that the substantial increases shown in 1340 and 1380 coincide in a remarkable way with the date of 1347 given by Mr. Inderwick for the colonization of the Temple from Thavy's Inn, and with the date suggested by me for the removal to Furnival's Inn.

* Except, of course, the actual hearing of cases on circuit.

Maps and Plans.

THE early maps of London are too vague to be of any value so far as the ground plan of Lincoln's Inn is concerned. The earliest of any practical utility is a very scarce print by Hollar, *circa* 1650, a portion of which is here reproduced. The buildings of the Inn are shown with much fidelity, but the Chapel is placed too far north, and the Gate House is not quite in its right place. This view should be studied in connection with the annexed plan from Ogilby and Morgan's Map of 1677. The most marked difference is seen in the garden, which appears to have been altered in 1662. An order for "the modellinge of the Garden and Walkes, and the felling and loppinge of trees therein," was made on November 27th of that year.* Hollar's view brings out very clearly the distinction between the Garden and the Walks.

The coloured plan facing page 3 is, in outline a reproduction from the Ordnance Survey, and includes all existing buildings in the Inn. It has been coloured chronologically in centuries, and is explained by the following table :—

DATES OF EXISTING BUILDINGS IN LINCOLN'S INN.

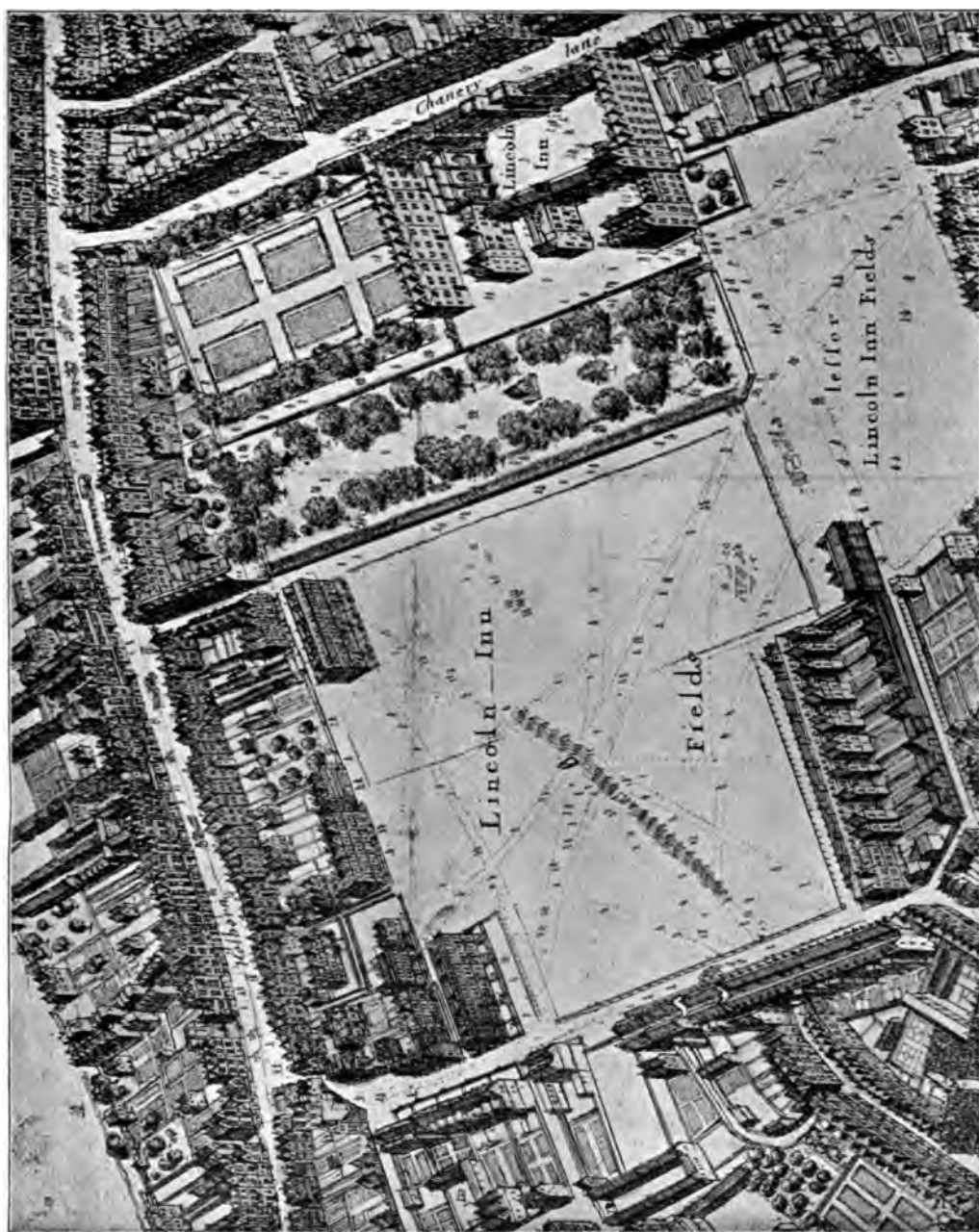
1489-1491	The Old Hall - - - -	Coloured Green.
1518	The Gate House - - - -	„ Brown
1525	Chambers now numbered 18, 19, and 20, Old Buildings - -	„ „
1535	Chambers now numbered 16, Old Buildings, and 12 and 13, New Square - - - -	„ „
1557	The Kitchen - - - -	„ „
1583	Chambers over Kitchen, and build- ings between Kitchen and Hall	„ „
1601	Chambers now numbered 25, Old Square - - - -	„ Pink.
1609	Chambers now numbered 21, 22, 23 and 24, Old Square - -	„ „

* Black Books, vol. 3, p. 23.

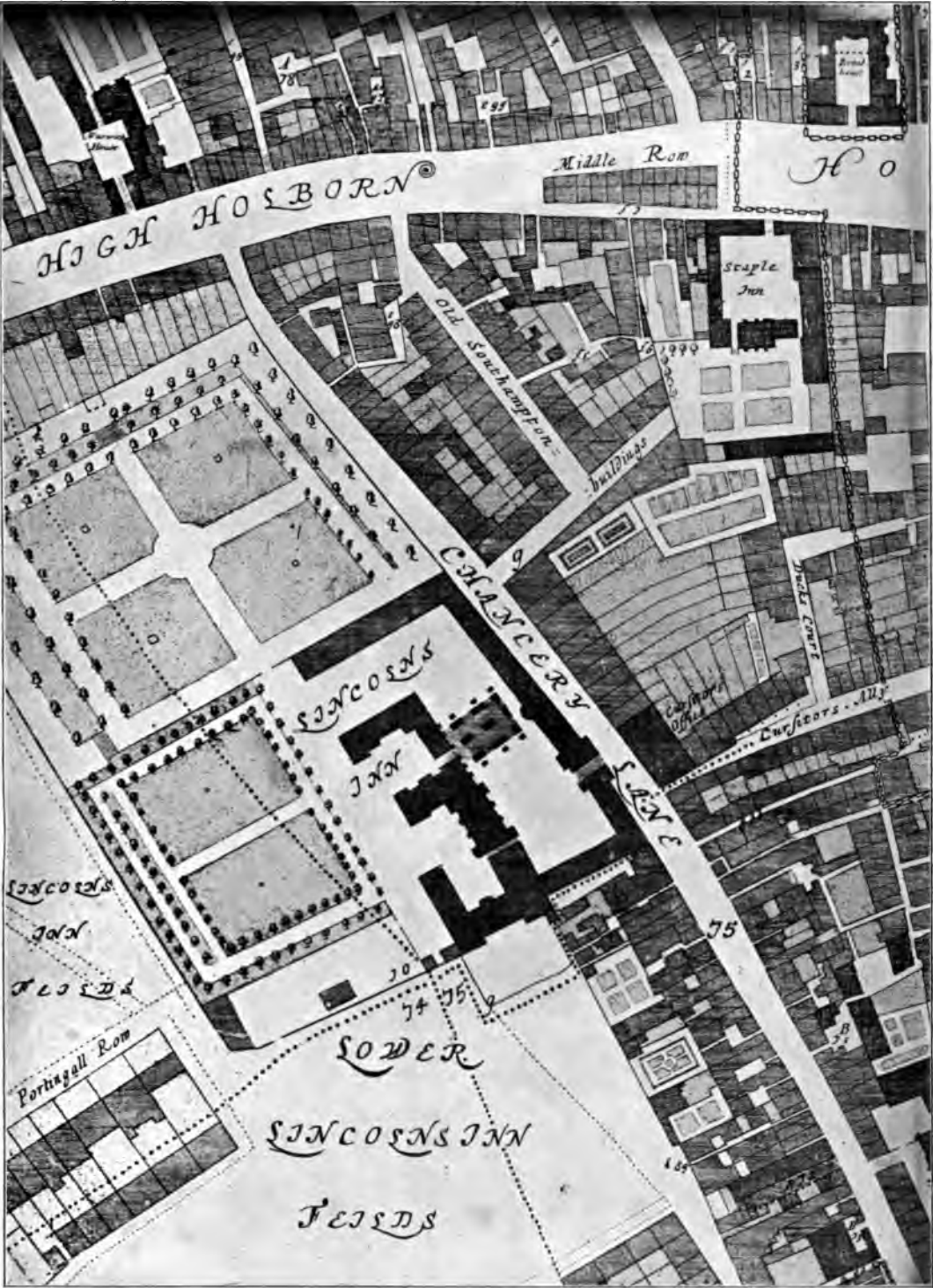
Maps and Plans.

1623	The Chapel (date of consecration)	Coloured Pink.
1624	Enlargement of the Old Hall -	" "
1691, 2, 3,	New Square. These dates are taken from the tablets on Nos. 1 and 11 - - - - -	" "
1739	New "Pastry" and Ovens - -	" Lilac.
1775	Chambers now numbered 3, 4, 5 and 6, Stone Buildings - -	" "
1775	The Registers' and Accountant- General's Offices, now numbered 8, 9 and 11, Stone Buildings, and the Six Clerks' Offices, now used as a Drill Hall, &c. - -	" "
1780	Chambers now numbered 1 and 2, Stone Buildings - - -	" "
1843-4	New Hall and Library - - -	" Yellow.
1845	Southern block of Stone Buildings, now numbered 7, and chambers numbered 11A, New Square -	" "
1872-5	Chambers numbered 8, 9 and 10, Old Square - - - - -	" "
1872	Extension of Library eastward -	" "
1876-80	Chambers numbered 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15, Old Square - -	" "
1882-3	Extension of Chapel westward, and new Entrance - - -	" "





FROM A RARE PRINT BY HOLLAR, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.




FROM OGILBY AND MORGAN'S MAP OF LONDON.
1677.







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